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President: Mr. Ismat T. KITTANI (Iraq).

AGENDA ITEM 22

**The situation in Kampuchea: report of the
Secretary-General (continued)**

1. Mr. HA VAN LAU (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): This is the third time that the General Assembly has discussed the so-called situation in Kampuchea, in the absence and notwithstanding the opposition of the legal and authentic representative of the Kampuchean people and participation of the usurpers of the place of that country in the United Nations. That is why I should like from the outset to bring to the attention of the Assembly the clear and firm position of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. I quote from the telegram from Mr. Hun Sen, the Vice-President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, addressed to the President of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General on 13 October 1981:

"Ministry of Foreign Affairs of People's Republic of Kampuchea protests strongly at forthcoming discussions on ASEAN draft resolution concerning so-called situation in Kampuchea. This is again gross and inadmissible interference in internal affairs of Kampuchea and flagrant violation of United Nations Charter . . .

" . . . the Government of People's Republic of Kampuchea categorically rejects any resolution concerning Kampuchea which will be adopted by present session of United Nations General Assembly based on falsification of the situation in Kampuchea and attempts to impose a so-called global political solution on the [revitalized] Kampuchean people, disregarding the protests from Government of People's Republic of Kampuchea." [See A/36/596.]

2. My delegation firmly supports that just position of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and reaffirms its objection to the discussion of item 22 by the General Assembly, any resolution or conclusion adopted as a result of which will be considered null and void.

3. My delegation would like to emphasize that in speaking in this debate it wishes to present the facts concerning the situation in Kampuchea and in South-East Asia in recent years with the aim of providing food for thought for delegations that are really anxious to defend justice and law, as they are about to state their views on a question which involves their responsibility as regards the Kam-

puchean people and as regards peace and stability in the region.

4. What are the facts regarding the present situation in Kampuchea? As was pointed out in the telegram from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, at the present time life has returned to normal in that country. The Kampuchean people are re-emerging from the hell of the genocidal Pol Pot régime. In less than three years remarkable achievements have been recorded in all fields. Free and democratic general elections have been organized to re-establish State institutions. The National Assembly has been elected, the Constitution adopted, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers have been instituted. Order and security are ensured throughout the country. The public authorities concern themselves effectively with the well-being of the people. Agricultural production continues to increase and 1.8 million hectares are expected to be cultivated in 1981. Hundreds of industrial and handicraft enterprises have resumed operations. This year schools have been opened to 1.5 million pupils; higher education has been resumed. The literacy campaign is developing everywhere. The national culture has been restored and public health is improving daily.

5. Testimony by foreigners who have seen the situation on the spot confirms those facts. As early as December 1980 a joint communiqué of UNICEF and the International Committee of the Red Cross, which are international organizations responsible for humanitarian assistance operations, mentioned factors which have shown the spectacular improvements in that country: the spectre of famine has disappeared, the rice crop has more than doubled, more than 1,000 rural health centres and 5,500 primary schools have been opened; and the majority of the refugees have returned home.

6. The great events in the country's political life have taken place in complete tranquillity, without a single incident, in spite of the sabotage plans of China and Pol Pot to undermine the people's power from the outside. As regards the so-called hostilities, the People's Republic of Kampuchea knows less of them than certain members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] which have had to carry out military and police operations inside their own territories to assure order and security. The war communiqués regularly dispatched from Beijing and the maps circulated in the corridors of the United Nations showing alleged controlled areas and areas of guerrilla warfare are nothing but tissues of lies designed to deceive people who are not well informed.

7. It should be emphasized that since January 1979 the people of Kampuchea have become once again the real masters of their country. In particular, the democratic general elections held last May are the most eloquent expression of the people's confidence in and affection for the people's power, which effectively and totally controls the national territory and efficiently manages all the country's internal and external affairs. The success of the gen-

eral elections, as observed in a statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, "once again confirms the will of the Kampuchean people definitively to reject the Pol Pots, Son Sanns, Sihanouks and company, and to assume control of their own destiny" [see A/36/300].

8. The rapid renaissance of the Kampuchean people and the consolidation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its legal and democratic State power are undeniable facts which do justice to all the deceitful allegations of the hostile propaganda against that country.

9. On its advent, the people's power immediately put an end to the conflicts provoked by the Pol Pot régime with all neighbouring countries, including Thailand, and stated its readiness to establish good-neighbour relations with the latter. Thus, with its domestic policy of national reconstruction and its foreign policy of peace, friendship and non-alignment, the People's Republic of Kampuchea has become a factor for peace and stability in the region, a factor which is being consolidated with every day that passes.

10. Some delegations have again raised in the Assembly the question of the Indo-Chinese refugees, including Kampuchians, in an attempt to create confusion on this essentially humanitarian question. In fact, this exodus of Indo-Chinese people began with the wars of aggression waged by the colonialists, imperialists and hegemonists, and especially in the case of Kampuchea with the genocidal régime which was remotely controlled by the hegemonists. To these wars have been added the manoeuvres of Washington and Beijing aimed at inciting illegal departures and hampering legal and organized departures. According to an internal report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees revealed by the newspaper *Le Monde* in its issue of 8 July 1981, the United States is encouraging the exodus of Indo-Chinese people. This is to hinder the stabilization of the Communist régimes, and to show the world that the Indo-Chinese continue to vote with their feet. The peoples of the three countries of Indo-China are therefore the first victims. Furthermore, they sympathize with certain ASEAN countries for which this exodus has caused economic, social and other difficulties.

11. What must be emphasized is that so far more than 300,000 Kampuchians who had fled the genocidal régime have returned to Kampuchea and have been integrated into the normal life of the country, thanks to the great efforts of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. In particular, the Kampuchean Government states that it is in favour of the eventual return of the refugees in Thailand, but that an agreement of the two sides is necessary to ensure security and proper conditions for the resettlement of the refugees. At the same time, the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea cannot tolerate the manoeuvres labelled "voluntary repatriation" designed to infiltrate the Pol Pot remnants and other Khmer reactionaries in order to commit acts of subversion and sabotage against the peaceful life and work of its people. No Government which really cares about defending its sovereignty and security could act otherwise.

12. As for the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea, they are there only to help that country defend its independence and sovereignty against the threat from China, in collusion with the imperialists and other reactionaries. Their presence is directed neither against Thai-

land nor against any other third country. The leaders of the ASEAN countries are well aware of that, and some have confirmed it publicly. Their remarks have truly been contradictory. While alleging that there is a Vietnamese threat, the Thai authorities have rejected our proposals to sign a non-aggression treaty and establish a demilitarized zone on both sides of the Kampuchea-Thailand border. Even the United States Under-Secretary of Defense, Mr. Carlucci, during his recent visit to Thailand, admitted before the press in Bangkok on 26 September that he did not believe in the danger of a Vietnamese invasion of Thailand from Kampuchea. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) reported that statement on the radio on the same day. In fact, the so-called threat to Thailand from Vietnamese troops stationed in Kampuchea is nothing but a product of the propaganda machines of Beijing and Washington seeking to whitewash their past crimes and to divert public attention from their current war of attrition against the three Indo-Chinese countries.

13. Therefore, neither the so-called situation in Kampuchea nor the presence of Vietnamese troops in that country constitutes the origin of tension and instability in South-East Asia. On the contrary, the birth of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the militant solidarity of the three Indo-Chinese countries have become solid factors for peace, stability, friendship and co-operation in the region.

14. Where, then, are the hotbeds of tension in South-East Asia and what is their origin?

15. In Kampuchea tension persists not in the interior but on that country's border with Thailand. This situation results solely from the fact that Thailand allows China and the United States to use its territory as a base for the recruiting, training, equipping and supplying of the armed gangs of Pol Pot and other Khmer reactionaries. It is from these sanctuaries that activities of subversion and sabotage have been launched against Kampuchean territory. What is more serious, according to the SPK information agency of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Thai armed forces themselves have daily been violating the territory, airspace and territorial waters of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. In particular, Thai artillery often lob shells over the border to cover Pol Pot infiltrations.

16. While China's schemings against Kampuchea are well known to the entire world, those of the United States, though less well known, are in fact as intense and well organized, as has been revealed in the British journal *War Monthly* of September 1981. According to that magazine, an organization by the name of the Kampuchean Emergency Group, set up by a Colonel Michael Allen in Aranyaprathet and placed under the direction of the United States Ambassador in Bangkok and composed of former high-ranking American officers in Indo-China, has, as part of its mission, to command, in co-ordination with the Thai Task Force 80, the criminal activities of the Pol Pot gangs and other Khmer reactionaries along the Kampuchea-Thailand border.

17. But it is on the borders between China and Viet Nam and China and the Lao People's Democratic Republic that there is the gravest tension which runs the serious risk of deteriorating into a large-scale war of unforeseeable consequences. While China ceaselessly threatens Viet Nam with a second war of aggression, it continues to occupy the Vietnamese archipelago of Hoang Sa—Paracel—and to mass in the immediate proximity of the border 400,000 troops who systematically engage in acts

of armed provocation and encroachment. Scores of divisions of all branches are maintained in combat-ready position for attack, while the Chinese command is accelerating a plan of modernizing the army and its air and naval bases, particularly in southern China. China recently organized a series of military manoeuvres and has feverishly sown a revenge psychosis among its armed forces. Furthermore, China has been rallying reactionaries to form so-called anti-Vietnamese and anti-Lao fronts, recruiting mercenaries from among refugees to foment trouble in Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

18. It is this all-out war of attrition against the three countries of Indo-China, of which these criminal activities constitute an integral part, that is responsible for the extreme tension in the region and that poses a serious threat to peace and security there.

19. Tense situations exist also in the other South-East Asian countries, essentially because of the subversion activities—and even the civil war—staged by the pseudo-revolutionary armed groups backed by the Beijing authorities—organizations which, without aid, would not have been as powerful as they are and would long ago have vanished.

20. A look back at what has happened in South-East Asia since the Second World War confirms this view: the fact that that region has never known peace and stability has nothing to do with the so-called situation in Kampuchea but is due to the policies and manoeuvres of outside powers hostile to the fundamental national rights of the peoples and countries of the region. There have been colonial wars against the Indonesian and Indo-Chinese peoples, and an American war of aggression against the peoples of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Kampuchea. And today it is the Chinese hegemonists' war of aggression, followed by the present all-out war of attrition against the three countries of Indo-China. Last, but not least, are the drawn-out civil wars, potential or overt, fomented from outside over these past decades against the legal Governments of the countries of the region.

21. In spite of all this deceitful imperialist and reactionary propaganda, slowly but surely the facts are becoming known: even in the countries of ASEAN, realistic politicians are beginning to speak about them publicly. The origin of the present tension in the countries of South-East Asia—in Indo-China, the ASEAN countries and others, as well—lies in the Beijing authorities' policy of hegemonism and expansionism against the sovereignty and security of independent States, a policy all the more dangerous because of its ever-closer collusion with the United States imperialists.

22. On the basis of a deliberately distorted analysis of the situation in Kampuchea and its consequences for South-East Asia, a false issue has been raised, and, after being endorsed by an international conference, a so-called comprehensive political solution has been elaborated. An attempt is now being made to have the General Assembly adopt it.

23. In this connection, my delegation would like to recall the following position of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea as set forth in the statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 18 July this year:

“The main purpose of this Conference, convened on the proposal of the ASEAN countries and orchestrated by the Chinese expansionists and the United States imperialists, was to deceive world opinion, to misrepresent the situation in Kampuchea, to prop up the remnants of the Pol Pot supporters and other Khmer reactionaries who have taken refuge in Thai territory and encourage them in their criminal activities against the rebirth and development of the Kampuchean people, and to sabotage the independence and sovereignty of Kampuchea. These crude manoeuvres are utterly incompatible with the real situation in Kampuchea and with justice. They represent unacceptable interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

“The People's Republic of Kampuchea wishes to reiterate that there is no ‘Kampuchean problem’ and, consequently, no solution to be found to it. No country, no organization and, *a fortiori*, no group of criminals who betrayed their country has the right to speak on behalf of the Kampuchean people or to put forward ‘settlements’ for Kampuchea which in reality are merely manoeuvres designed to pave the way for the return of the barbarous Pol Pot archcriminals. The situation in Kampuchea is irreversible, and all the manoeuvres and activities aimed at undermining the independence and sovereignty of the People's Republic of Kampuchea are doomed to certain and dismal failure.”
[See A/36/402.]

24. While extending full support to that just position of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, my delegation would like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the following.

25. A solution to a given problem can be just only if it is based on the objective reality of the situation. Moreover, as we have just pointed out, the cause of the present tension in Kampuchea, as in South-East Asia in general, is the Chinese threat. Therefore the fundamental problem that must be solved urgently is how to put an end to the policies of aggression and intervention pursued by China against the peoples of Kampuchea, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Viet Nam.

26. To demand an immediate withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea without taking into account the explosive situation along the Thai-Kampuchea border on the one hand and along the borders between China and the Lao People's Democratic Republic and China and Viet Nam on the other would be tantamount to giving a free hand to China, in collusion with the United States and with the complicity of Thailand and some other ASEAN countries, to re-establish the genocidal Pol Pot régime in Kampuchea and to deprive the Kampuchean people of their sacred right of legitimate defence. It would also mean recognizing China's right to commit aggression against and intervene in the three Indo-Chinese countries and denying those peoples their right to establish among themselves and help one another in the common struggle against the expansionist policy of the Beijing authorities.

27. The presence of the Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea results from an agreement concluded between the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, two independent and sovereign States. Nobody has the right to interfere or prevent the Indo-Chinese countries from exercising their right of self-defence. The Vietnamese troops will withdraw from

Kampuchea as soon as the threat of Chinese aggression against and intervention in the three Indo-Chinese countries no longer exists. In the meantime, if peace and security are secured in the border areas between Kampuchea and Thailand, Viet Nam and Kampuchea will decide by common agreement on a partial withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.

28. Some representatives speaking at this rostrum have suggested that the Vietnamese troops maintained in Kampuchea are there contrary to the will of the people of that country. One question arises: What is meant by "the people of Kampuchea"? Are they the millions who have survived the genocidal régime and are now rebuilding their homes and their country and are taking in hand their own destiny? Or are they the Pol Pot clique of murderers and other Kampuchean traitors nurtured on a neighbouring territory by the enemies of the Kampuchean people, who have tried in vain to bring them back to power in Kampuchea? The reply is clear and precise for all men of conscience.

29. As reported in an article in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* of 13 February 1981, Kampucheans interviewed by correspondence unanimously affirm that

"While outsiders want to get the Vietnamese out of Kampuchea, the Khmers themselves feel that they have been liberated from the horrors of Khmer Rouge rule and want the Vietnamese to stay as long as the threat of a return of that bloody régime remains real."

30. On the other hand, those same representatives desperately demand free general elections and attempt to impose on the Kampuchean people a so-called coalition Government composed of three rival factions which they try to gather together no matter at what cost in various capital cities: from Beijing to Washington, from Singapore to Bangkok. They act as if Kampuchea were a country deprived of a ruler and placed under the trusteeship of China, the United States and the ASEAN countries. What right have these countries to interfere deliberately in the internal affairs of an independent and sovereign State? General elections in Kampuchea are within the national competence of the Kampuchean people alone. Free and democratic general elections have been held in the presence of hundreds of foreign observers, and 97 per cent of the population of Kampuchea participated in them. To fail to recognize these living realities in Kampuchea and to attempt to restore a régime that has been spurned and rejected by its own people would not only mean acting against law and morality but also constitute an act of injustice against this martyred people. Like it or not, the Kampuchean people, who are now masters of their own destiny, have properly exercised their right to self-determination and have freely chosen their leaders as well as the way to the social and political development of their country. No reactionary force in the world can reverse the trend.

31. In this context, the so-called International Conference on Kampuchea was a basically wrong undertaking because it deliberately distorted the reality of the situation in Kampuchea and in South-East Asia. It was a one-sided conference because it constituted gross interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and aimed at preparing for the return of Pol Pot and other reactionaries to power.

32. As far as the proceedings of that conference are concerned, they had certain features almost unprecedented in the history of the United Nations, such as the hesita-

tion and scepticism of a considerable number of participants, the elaboration of the so-called comprehensive political solution by the China-Singapore duo and the spectacular manner in which a so-called consensus was produced before an audience that was more or less indifferent.

33. The holding of such a conference and its adoption of decisions can in no way constitute the progress claimed by its sponsors; it is rather a diktat to the Kampuchean people and constitutes an additional impediment to the restoration of peace and stability in the region. It is unfortunate that the United Nations should have become involved in this manoeuvre, which is contrary to the interests of the Kampuchean people and the peoples of the South-East Asian region and to the principles of its own Charter and makes a mockery of reality as well as of justice and law. To think that so much effort and money have been expended in a cause that was lost in advance.

34. The ASEAN countries are in favour of a dialogue but demand that it be based on the erroneous United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea which have already been rejected by the three countries of Indo-China. That is not an invitation to dialogue, but a new attempt to use the United Nations mechanism to impose their will and to exert pressure on Viet Nam and the other Indo-Chinese countries, as was stated by a representative of a member of ASEAN in this very forum. It is pure illusion, because the Kampuchean people have made great sacrifices to become masters of their destiny, not to exchange one diktat for another. The policy of a position of strength as regards the Indo-Chinese countries has never been successful. Kampuchea, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Viet Nam will have to overcome more difficulties but they will never cease to march forward and develop in all fields.

35. If the ASEAN countries persist in following a policy of connivance with hegemonism and imperialism, opposition to the Indo-Chinese peoples, rejection of dialogue and determination to impose their will on others, they will only maintain and prolong tension and instability, the consequences of which they too will have to suffer. This could only lead to a deadlock and would not benefit any South-East Asian country or peace and stability, friendship and co-operation in the region. On the contrary, it would benefit only Beijing.

36. My delegation believes that a just and reasonable solution to the problems relating to the peace and stability of the countries of South-East Asia must be based on the true over-all situation in the region, on respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all these States and on the principles of the Charter. It was in that spirit that the conferences of Foreign Ministers of the three Indo-Chinese countries, held in Vientiane in July 1980,¹ in Ho Chi Minh City in January 1981 and Phnom Penh in June 1981, put forward constructive proposals [see A/36/86 and A/36/328] and that Mr. Phoune Sipraseuth, Vice-President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic submitted to the Assembly at this session the principles governing relations of peaceful coexistence between the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN countries, for peace, stability, friendship and co-operation in South-East Asia [see A/36/561].

37. The delegation of Viet Nam sincerely hopes that the delegations of Member States that are concerned about the defence of law and justice will take a positive attitude in

favour of the rebirth of the Kampuchean people and of peace, stability, friendship and co-operation in South-East Asia.

38. Before concluding, I should like to make a brief comment on the statements made this morning by the representative of the United States and the representative of the Philippines from this rostrum regarding my country. Listening to their rhetoric on the history of the past 30 years and their feelings of compassion for the peoples of Kampuchea and Viet Nam, it would seem that those representatives have a rather short memory regarding the recent past, when their respective countries engaged in a war of criminal aggression, the most loathsome in history, against the peoples of the three countries of Indo-China—a war that has been condemned by all mankind. Those are the very people who today try to whitewash their past crimes and divert public opinion from their current crimes; who pose as ardent defenders of justice and law, of independence and self-determination for the peoples of Indo-China, whose lands they earlier bombed and to whom they brought death and destruction. Despite their cynical calumnies and their shameless propaganda campaigns, they cannot turn white into black, falsehood into truth, and their political plots against the people of Kampuchea, who are in a period of rebirth, will fail, as has every one of their attempts over the past decade. He who sows the wind shall reap the whirlwind.

39. Mr. HURD (United Kingdom): I am glad of this opportunity to speak on behalf of the 10 States Members of the European Community in this important debate.

40. It is now nearly three years since the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea. The régime which they installed in Phnom Penh remains totally reliant on Viet Nam for its existence. Having suffered the atrocities of the barbarous Pol Pot régime, the unfortunate people of Kampuchea have still not regained their independence and right to self-determination. Meanwhile a vast army of occupation remains bogged down in the countryside and no political solution is in prospect. So the risk continues that the conflict could at any time spill over the borders of Kampuchea. Yet there has been some progress in the last year. As to the humanitarian aspects of the problem, at least the spectre of starvation no longer hangs over Kampuchea. Thanks to the efforts of the Secretary-General, Sir Robert Jackson, the specialized agencies, with UNICEF in the lead role, the International Committee of the Red Cross, other non-governmental agencies and the general response of the international community, it seems that the physical survival of the people of Kampuchea is assured, although there may be shortages again next year. Should this happen, the European Community and its member States, which have together contributed some 40 per cent of the international relief effort, may be prepared to consider contributing further. In this connection, I should like to pay a tribute to the Royal Thai Government for the compassion and generosity with which Thailand has absorbed and continues to absorb Kampuchean refugees, in such large numbers, despite the considerable difficulties which this has entailed for the Government and for the Thai people.

41. On the political front, the tireless efforts of the members of ASEAN to promote a solution have continued, and their efforts, in our opinion, rightly enjoy the support of the great majority of the international community. The Community took part in the International Conference on Kampuchea here in July. We express our satisfaction at the outcome of the Conference. The members

of the Community call upon all parties concerned fully to use the framework of the United Nations in seeking a lasting solution for the Kampuchean people. They continue to believe that a solution to the Kampuchean problem must be based on an independent and neutral Kampuchea, with a genuinely representative government, free from any foreign military presence and maintaining friendly relations with all countries of the region. Further sessions of the Conference, as provided for in the draft resolution submitted by the ASEAN countries and others, will no doubt take the process forward next year. Any settlement must give the people of Kampuchea the right to determine freely the form of government and leadership they want. In the light of recent history, it will also be important to have assurances that a future Kampuchean Government will maintain friendly relations with all countries of the region, and especially with its immediate neighbours. Such assurances will, of course, have to be reciprocal. Meanwhile, we note the recent agreement in principle between representatives of Kampuchean parties opposed to the Vietnamese invasion to form a coalition.

42. The 10 members appreciate that in the search for a settlement ASEAN is moved by the desire to create conditions conducive to the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia free from interference by outside Powers. The complete withdrawal of Vietnamese forces is an essential step in returning Kampuchea to normality. Effective measures must also be taken to ensure that no armed group can either seize power by force or use the threat of force to intimidate the Kampuchean people and so deprive them of their right to self-determination. In this connection, let there be no misunderstanding about our attitude to the Pol Pot régime. We abhor that odious régime, whose violations of human rights were more flagrant than those of any other régime in recent history. It is for the people of Kampuchea to decide who should emerge from free elections as their new Government. But we have no doubt that, given the chance, they will reject the Pol Pot régime decisively. Our attitude on this is consistent. It stands in marked contrast with that of the Soviet and other pro-Vietnamese representatives, who, as late as the autumn of 1978, strenuously opposed, in the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, Western efforts to persuade the international community to investigate the atrocities of the Pol Pot régime.

43. Be that as it may, the history and record of that Pol Pot régime is no justification, in our view, for invasion and occupation. It is in the interests of all to insist on the inadmissibility of foreign interference and intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign State, and especially to insist that small and vulnerable countries should not be subject to invasion by their larger neighbours, on whatever pretext. As one representative wisely said in the debate on Kampuchea in the General Assembly last year, there are no "justified" interventions, there are no "good" occupations, regardless of the validity of the motives invoked. There can be no recognition of any right to impose governments or régimes on independent countries.

44. Thus, the community will once again support the draft resolution submitted by the ASEAN countries and others, as they supported the texts submitted at the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth sessions of the General Assembly. As ASEAN recognizes, there can be no political solution without the participation and the co-operation of all those concerned in the conflict. We hope therefore that the Vietnamese Government and others concerned will reconsider their decision not to take part in the International

Conference on Kampuchea, and will begin to play their part in the search for a negotiated political settlement, for the sooner they do, the sooner the Kampuchean people can enjoy the peace they long for.

45. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): This is the third consecutive year that the General Assembly has discussed the situation in Kampuchea, which continues to be a scene of unparalleled tragedy and of a crisis threatening world peace. Since late 1978, when the Vietnamese troops entered Phnom Penh, the international community has been making unremitting efforts to resolve the Kampuchean crisis. The initiatives taken at successive sessions of the General Assembly and at the recently held International Conference on Kampuchea have even given rise to a faint optimism regarding the return of peace to that tormented land. But it remains abundantly clear that the travail of the Kampuchean people will continue unmitigated as long as the foreign military intervention persists in Kampuchea, suppressing the free exercise by the people of that country of their right to self-determination.

46. The people of Pakistan feel special concern over the Kampuchean tragedy for three reasons. First, the situation in Kampuchea is the result of the violation of the sacrosanct principle of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, strict respect for which is the essential prerequisite for a world order based on peace, equity and justice. Secondly, there is a close parallel between the situation in Kampuchea and that in Afghanistan, which poses a grave danger to the stability of our region and to international peace. Thirdly, with over 2 million Afghan refugees on our soil, we realize the extraordinary magnitude of the humanitarian problem caused by the foreign military intervention and internal strife in Kampuchea, the plight of more than 100,000 Kampuchean refugees and the burden that their presence must have placed on the resources of Thailand. We wish to pay a warm tribute to the Government of Thailand for providing shelter to this afflicted mass of humanity uprooted from their homes, as a humanitarian and internationalist responsibility.

47. We wish also to commend the massive effort mobilized by the United Nations under the personal guidance of the Secretary-General in helping to ameliorate the dismal conditions of hunger, malnutrition and disease suffered by the unfortunate people of Kampuchea.

48. Pakistan's position on the political and humanitarian aspects of the Kampuchean crisis has been consistent and unambiguous. Pakistan has never condoned the inhuman and genocidal policies of the Pol Pot régime in Kampuchea. At the same time, Pakistan cannot accept foreign occupation of that country in the name of saving its people from a tyrannical régime. We firmly believe that in no circumstances can a nation arrogate to itself the right to invade another sovereign nation and to impose a puppet régime on its victim. If military interventions are justified on the pretext of humanitarian considerations, it would make a farce of the established principles of international law, resulting in global chaos and anarchy in which the security of smaller and weaker countries of the world would be at the mercy of their more powerful neighbours. As members of the international community, committed to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, we have a solemn responsibility to reject and oppose such international behaviour whether the aggressive State is large or small.

49. The General Assembly has declared its opposition to the Vietnamese military intervention in Kampuchea in unequivocal terms. In its resolutions 34/22 and 35/6, the General Assembly has also emphasized the urgent need for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem on the basis of total withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea, respect for its sovereignty and independence and the right of the Kampuchean people to determine its own future, free from outside interference. With the objective of finding such a comprehensive settlement, resolution 35/6 further decided to convene an international conference on Kampuchea with the participation of all conflicting parties in that country.

50. Accordingly, the Conference was held last July and adopted a Declaration on Kampuchea which is a testimony to the sincere concern and realism with which the participants tried to elaborate concrete measures to advance the process, initiated by the General Assembly, for a just political solution of the situation in Kampuchea. The Conference laid down the blueprint for a cease-fire in Kampuchea and the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea within a specific time-frame, for restoration of conditions of peace and order inside Kampuchea and for the holding of free and impartial elections under the supervision of the United Nations so that all Kampuchean people would be able to participate in them and elect a Government of their own choice. The Conference also envisaged agreements among the five permanent members of the Security Council and all States of South-East Asia, as well as other States concerned, to ensure the non-aligned and neutral status of Kampuchea, respect for its sovereignty and independence and the inviolability of its borders.

51. The central role and responsibility of the United Nations in resolving the Kampuchean crisis cannot be over-emphasized. The situation in Kampuchea is not a regional question; it concerns the violation of a fundamental principle of international law and remedying it is an international responsibility. We are therefore gratified to find that the role of the United Nations has been fully acknowledged in the decisions of the General Assembly as well as those of the International Conference on Kampuchea. The United Nations has been asked to monitor the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea, and has been assigned the heavy responsibility of supervising free elections in Kampuchea and maintaining law and order until the peaceful transition of power to the elected representatives in that country. Successful execution of this role would undoubtedly enhance the prestige of the Organization and restore confidence in its effectiveness to maintain and strengthen international peace and security.

52. It is a matter of deep regret that Viet Nam and its allies declined to participate in the important Conference on Kampuchea. It is our earnest hope that they will find it possible to co-operate with the *Ad Hoc* Committee set up by the Conference and enter into immediate negotiations over the elements of a peaceful settlement outlined by the Conference. A positive response by these countries would make a vital contribution to bringing the tragic chapter of strife and bloodshed to an early close in war-ravaged Kampuchea.

53. We do not wish to comment on the motivation behind the Vietnamese intervention in Kampuchea. However, the events of the last three years have clearly demonstrated that the fateful Vietnamese action has served only to destroy the hope that Indo-China will witness a new era of peace and prosperity in the wake of the heroic

triumph of the Vietnamese people in their painful and protracted struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

54. Today, the prospect of peace has once again brightened, thanks to the strenuous endeavours of the United Nations and the remarkable goodwill and wisdom shown by the members of ASEAN. We appeal to Viet Nam to reappraise its position and seize this opportunity to join in the international efforts for a political settlement of the Kampuchean crisis within the framework provided by the United Nations, which is in the best interest of all peoples in the region. Viet Nam's willingness to accept the United Nations initiative not only would bring peace to Indo-China and South-East Asia but would have a salutary effect on the worsening world situation, beset with growing tensions and conflicts.

55. Side by side with the peace efforts undertaken by the United Nations, there are encouraging signs of an emerging united front of all patriotic factions fighting in Kampuchea. We welcome the joint statement issued in Singapore on 4 September 1981 by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Mr. Son Sann and Mr. Khieu Samphan [see A/36/498] concerning their agreement, in principle, to form a coalition government. This development will ensure that a workable coalition is possible inside Kampuchea if the peace plan envisaged in the decisions of the General Assembly and the International Conference on Kampuchea is implemented. Such a coalition would also exclude the possibility of the return of Pol Pot despotism, which inflicted massive suffering on the Kampuchean people.

56. In conclusion, I wish to comment briefly on draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1 of which Pakistan is a sponsor and which has already been eloquently introduced by General Carlos P. Romulo, the Foreign Minister of the Philippines. This draft resolution reaffirms the basic incontrovertible principles for a political settlement. It also endorses the important decisions of the International Conference on Kampuchea. By lending its support to this draft resolution, the General Assembly would once again demonstrate its deep concern over the continued tragedy in Kampuchea and its determination to pursue the peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean crisis.

57. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): For three consecutive years the Kampuchean problem has come up before the Assembly. Thailand, as the front-line State affected by this problem for the past three years, wishes to see an early, comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem, based on the principles of the Charter and relevant United Nations resolutions. The reasons behind this are clear.

58. First, Thailand and all the members of ASEAN wish to see an immediate end to the fighting in Kampuchea and the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from that country. Prolongation of the conflict will not serve the interests of any country in the region. Viet Nam has no right or legitimate reason to try to impose a military solution in Kampuchea on the Kampuchean people.

59. Secondly, the Kampuchean people should be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination, free from foreign occupation and without foreign intervention or coercion, as they are entitled to do under the Charter and rules of international law. As long as the Vietnamese forces are not completely withdrawn from Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people will not be able to exercise this right freely. That is why the so-called elections recently

held in Kampuchea earlier this year were nothing more than a sham, as they were conducted under the shadow of the foreign occupying forces and without the full participation of the Kampuchean people.

60. Thirdly, Viet Nam's actions prior to its invasion of Kampuchea and subsequently have given an important international dimension to the problem. Outside Powers have become involved in the region whether or not it is to Viet Nam's liking. Prolongation of the problem and lack of a comprehensive political settlement could only lead to the increase and exacerbation of such rivalry and confrontation.

61. Fourthly, the problem of Kampuchean refugees as a tragic consequence of Viet Nam's military actions cannot be effectively solved without such a comprehensive political settlement. As long as foreign troops continue illegally to occupy Kampuchea and thus prolong the fighting, there is little hope of finding a truly effective and durable solution to the Kampuchean refugee problem.

62. Last, but not least, if there are any lessons to be learned from history, and considering the present reality, it should now be recognized by all concerned that a Kampuchea which could contribute to the maintenance of peace and stability in South-East Asia must be a Kampuchea which is truly free, independent, neutral and non-aligned. In order to reach this objective, it is imperative that a comprehensive political solution be found to the Kampuchean problem taking into account the legitimate interests and concerns of all parties. Above all, the inalienable rights of the Kampuchean people must be reaffirmed, in particular their right to self-determination. That having been done, no other country should be permitted to intervene in the internal affairs of Kampuchea or seek to impose on it any administration or form of government. It will be up to the Kampuchean people to decide for themselves.

63. Meanwhile, my delegation welcomes the efforts of the Kampuchean patriots under their leaders—Prince Sihanouk, Mr. Son Sann and Mr. Khieu Samphan—to form a nationalist coalition against the occupying forces. So long as Viet Nam persists in its attempt to impose its military might on the Kampuchean people, there is no choice but to recognize the legitimacy of the struggle by Kampuchean patriots to free their country from the foreign occupation and illegal presence, in order to exercise their right to self-determination without outside interference or coercion.

64. It was with the aforementioned objectives in mind that the members of ASEAN proposed the convening of an international conference on Kampuchea in General Assembly resolution 35/6. With the support of an overwhelming majority of Member States, the Conference was convened by the Secretary-General in July this year. The results were most encouraging as the Conference adopted, by consensus, a declaration² and a resolution³ on Kampuchea which, *inter alia*, established an *Ad Hoc* Committee. The Declaration provides a constructive and reasonable framework for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. The Declaration reaffirms that the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and its right to self-determination, as well as the commitment by all States to non-involvement in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, are the principal components of any just and lasting solution of the Kampuchean problem. The Declaration also emphasizes that

Kampuchea, like all other countries, has the right to be independent and sovereign, free from any external threat and armed intervention, free to decide its own future and to pursue its own development and a better life for its people in an environment of peace, stability and full respect for human rights. Far from imposing one party's view on another, the Declaration calls for peaceful negotiations by all parties in an effort to find a solution satisfactory and acceptable to all, on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions. Thus negotiations are envisaged on the following important elements: a cease-fire and withdrawal of all foreign forces, under United Nations supervision; measures for the maintenance of peace and order in Kampuchea; and the holding of United Nations-supervised free elections. The Declaration also stresses that it is essential to have agreement on appropriate arrangements to ensure that the results of the free elections will be respected by all parties, as well as agreements by all States concerned, to ensure a peaceful future and stable conditions for Kampuchea.

65. The peaceful settlement of disputes has always been one of the fundamental principles enshrined in the Charter. In most cases it depends on the political will and the goodwill of the parties directly involved whether or not they see any merit in entering into such negotiations. With regard to the Kampuchean problem, the burden of proof naturally rests with Viet Nam, which has so far maintained that the situation in Kampuchea is irreversible. If and when Viet Nam accepts that it cannot occupy and subjugate another sovereign and independent State against the will of its people, the negotiating process within the framework of the International Conference on Kampuchea can earnestly begin with a view to finding a durable solution satisfactory to all.

66. The International Conference on Kampuchea also adopted by consensus a resolution establishing an *Ad Hoc* Committee to assist the Conference and to undertake missions, where appropriate, in pursuit of the negotiated settlement. My delegation is confident that the *Ad Hoc* Committee and its individual members will play a useful role in carrying out its mandate as outlined in the Declaration and resolution of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

67. As is evident from the foregoing, the Declaration and resolution of the Conference offer a reasonable framework for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. My delegation believes that this is a fair assessment for the following reasons.

68. First and foremost, the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination and the right of Kampuchea to exist as a truly free and independent country are recognized and constitute the most vital element of the solution. Secondly, the legitimate security interests of neighbouring States of Kampuchea, as well as other countries concerned, are taken into account. Thirdly, the negotiating process is not a process of imposing the will of one party on another but a process of peaceful negotiation of a peaceful settlement, with due cognizance of the legitimate rights and concerns of all parties, and a process in which all such parties are invited to participate. Fourthly, the Kampuchean problem, which is the root cause of the present instability as well as of increasing big-Power presence and rivalry in the South-East Asian region, will be dealt with peacefully. To put the question aside would only invite further conflict and mistrust within the region, as well as increase major-Power rivalry, which would be detrimental to the well-being of the countries and peoples

of South-East Asia as a whole. Fifthly, such a comprehensive settlement as envisaged by the Declaration will also provide durable solutions to other problems which have ensued from the Kampuchean conflict, namely, the refugee problem and the escalating tension in the region.

69. The comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem as envisaged in the documents of the International Conference would open up a new era of durable peace, stability and co-operation in the South-East Asian region, and the countries of the region could then exert renewed efforts to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia free from outside interference and rivalry. The countries of South-East Asia would thus be able to devote themselves to the tasks of development and national reconstruction and rehabilitation, which, my delegation believes, are inspired to by all peoples.

70. Mr. Carlos P. Romulo, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, in his eloquent statement this morning, has already lucidly introduced draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1. As one of the sponsors, my delegation would like merely to stress that that text, like resolutions 34/22 and 35/6, consists of two parts, namely, political and humanitarian. The political part underscores the results of the International Conference on Kampuchea and the humanitarian part addresses the problem of the Kampuchean refugees. In this regard my delegation wishes to express its deep appreciation to the donor countries, the United Nations and its agencies and other international humanitarian organizations as well as voluntary agencies, which have rendered valuable assistance to my country in our collective endeavours on behalf of the Kampuchean refugees. While the question of emergency relief inside Kampuchea is under review, the Kampuchean along the border and those in the holding centres in Thailand are still in need of international assistance pending their safe return to their homes.

71. My delegation fully supports the draft resolution and wishes to commend it to the General Assembly for approval.

72. Before concluding my statement I should like to refer to certain allegations against Thailand in the statement of the representative of Viet Nam earlier this afternoon.

73. In one part of his statement he alleged that the tension in South-East Asia was due to the fact that Thailand had allowed certain countries to use its territory as a base for military activities in support of Democratic Kampuchea, the Government of which is recognized by my country as well as by the United Nations. Furthermore, the Vietnamese representative alleged that Thai armed forces and artillery shells had violated daily the territory of Kampuchea.

74. These serious allegations are not only completely groundless but have been maliciously used to cover up the blatant acts of wanton aggression on the part of the Vietnamese occupying forces.

75. The real questions are these. First, whose troops, 200,000 strong, are waging the war against the Kampuchean people; whose troops are occupying Kampuchea? Secondly, with whose lavish assistance and costly war supplies are the Vietnamese troops waging this war and maintaining their illegal occupation of Kampuchea? Thirdly, whose troops have made frequent armed incursions into Thai territory from Kampuchea?

76. These innumerable incidents in violation of Thailand's sovereignty have been duly reported to the United Nations and the reports have been circulated as official United Nations documents.

77. Moreover, the Vietnamese representative referred to a publication called *War Monthly* to malign Thailand's good name. It referred to the so-called Kampuchean Emergency Group. The real question is: Who has been lighting the powder keg in Kampuchea?

78. Furthermore, the Thai Task Force 80 was mentioned in his statement. The existence of this unit is well known; it has as its sole purpose the task of co-ordination of international assistance to the refugees in close working relationship with UNHCR and other United Nations agencies, as well as international organizations such as the International Committee of the Red Cross and all the voluntary agencies concerned.

79. Thailand's good faith regarding the tense border situation is on record, particularly in our standing proposal to establish United Nations observers on the Thai side of the border. This proposal, however, has been rejected by Viet Nam. Therefore I venture to say that the case speaks for itself.

80. Mr. TRUCCO (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Today, as the General Assembly once again takes up the question of Kampuchea, we cannot fail to recall that in December 1978, after Vietnamese troops had taken control of that country in violation of all the principles of the Charter, the invaders maintained, just as the head of the Vietnamese delegation said here this afternoon, that this was an irreversible fact and that the international community would eventually have to recognize it as such.

81. Three years have since elapsed and reality has proved to be quite different. The overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations refuse to recognize as legitimate the Vietnamese administration in Kampuchea and demand the withdrawal of that country's troops. This has been borne out by General Assembly resolutions 34/22 and 35/6, as well as the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea and various communiqués by countries of the non-aligned movement.

82. Viet Nam's invasion of Kampuchea is of concern to the entire international community and primarily to those developing countries that can rightly call themselves non-aligned. Those countries understand that the strongest guarantee for living in peace is scrupulous respect for the principles and purposes of the Charter and in particular for the principle that unequivocally sets forth the need to refrain from the use or the threat of the use of force in international relations. Brazen violation of that principle cannot be condoned by the international community.

83. The Foreign Minister of my country stated in the general debate at this session that:

"... the time has come for all of us who identify with the authentic purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations to defend them frankly and openly, with the firmness that stems from conviction, by denouncing their violation wherever it occurs and by requesting and supporting application of the sanctions against transgressors which the Organization itself has provided for." [23rd meeting, para. 128.]

84. The International Conference on Kampuchea, convened in accordance with General Assembly resolution 35/6 and held in July of this year, clearly demonstrated the political will of a large majority of countries to engage in a constructive dialogue on the future of Kampuchea. We reiterate our support for the international Declaration which was issued there and we wish to express our willingness to continue to take part in the efforts of the international community to establish a free and independent Kampuchea that can be regarded as truly non-aligned.

85. We believe that the actions of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Essaafi, can be considered positive, because they have contributed to the creation of a climate more conducive to negotiations. We are sure that the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Conference will serve the purpose of facilitating that task until it is possible to adopt a general political agreement taking into account the interests of all States in the area and guaranteeing the exercise of the national rights of the Khmer people.

86. Furthermore, special priority must be given to the plight of the thousands of Kampuchean refugees which has so sorely affected Thailand, to whose people and Government we reiterate our gratitude and tribute. My country has contributed to the efforts of the General Assembly to assist those who have had to abandon the territory of Kampuchea and we unreservedly support the relief that has been given so selflessly and the efforts, both of the countries of ASEAN and of international bodies, especially the International Committee of the Red Cross and UNHCR, which this year most deservedly has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

87. We noted with satisfaction the joint communiqué issued by the leaders of the Kampuchean resistance early last month, for we are convinced that understanding and co-operation among the parties will favour the full implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly as regards the political future of Kampuchea. In that spirit my delegation is honoured to be one of the sponsors of the draft resolution which is before the Assembly, and the purpose of which is a reasonable, peaceful solution to the problem of Kampuchea.

88. Before concluding, I should like to repeat here the opinion of my Government: only the unconditional withdrawal of the occupying troops, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States in the region and the full exercise of the right to self-determination of the Khmer people will enable an end to be put to the hardships that those people have suffered over the past three decades.

89. Mr. SUJA (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Without the agreement and participation of the sole legitimate and genuine representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, against the will of the overwhelming majority of the people of that country and as a result of sordid manoeuvres, we yet again find ourselves compelled to discuss a question which falls exclusively within the internal jurisdiction of a sovereign State.

90. These fruitless discussions, which can lead to nothing constructive, clearly run counter to the basic principles and purposes of the Charter. For that reason the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic resolutely and categorically refutes them as gross and flagrant acts of interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of

Kampuchea. It is impossible to describe them otherwise than as an abuse of the prestige of the Organization likely only to discredit its authority.

91. In the more than two and a half years which have elapsed since the overthrow of the Pol Pot régime, which was condemned for all time, the heroic people of Kampuchea, led by their legitimate representatives, to whom they gave their free and unanimous support in last May's elections, have made a number of significant and indisputable advances in the normalization of life in their country. They have significantly increased production and restored basic market functions and the use of currency. They have successfully defended the accomplishments which were achieved at such a heavy price and are clearly overcoming the consequences of the Pol Pot régime, which committed genocide against its own people and drove the country into a social and economic catastrophe on an unprecedented scale which destroyed the very elementary norms of human civilization.

92. The people of Kampuchea, under the leadership of the Council of State, which is in both the legal and factual sense the sole legitimate and genuine representative of the people and the people's power in the entire territory of the State, has moved distinctly forward towards the attainment of those objectives. The objectives, which are the objectives of the people of Kampuchea, are set out in the recently adopted Constitution and other legislative instruments of the People's Assembly. They include, for example, the programme for the country's economic development, endorsed by the National Assembly, a programme which steers that society towards the full elimination of the vestiges of the former régime and the restoration of the country's economic potential and its food supplies.

93. Those undoubted and evident successes would be even more palpable but for the desperate, externally inspired attempts artificially to aggravate the problem and support here a group of people that, in the legal, political and moral senses, long ago lost any ground for acting in the Organization, which is a universal, governmental, peaceful organization with humanitarian aims, no matter what screens and nameplates they may use, whatever slogans they cover themselves with and whether they call themselves a front or anything else. But for the interests of foreign Powers, it would have been possible long ago to solve this pressing problem, thereby consolidating peace, security and stability in South-East Asia as a whole.

94. We join a number of other States in asking what are the purposes of those who today, notwithstanding the objective situation, console themselves with implausible illusions, as if it were possible to alter the real position in Kampuchea. Are they trying to promote the interests of the people of Kampuchea or their own interests? Are the people of Kampuchea likely to be helped to solve the problems that they inherited by resolutions such as that before the Assembly? In our opinion, they will not be helped in that way. We therefore resolutely oppose draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1. Such proposals promote only the purposes of the intrigues of world imperialism and Beijing's hegemonism. They are nothing but an ignominious continuation of a policy which has proved a total failure; consequently, they are all the less likely to succeed today. This draft resolution can expect the same fate as all similar attempts, regardless of the forum in which they were made, including the International Conference on Kampuchea.

95. The situation in Kampuchea is irreversible, whether or not that is to the liking of certain parties. That situation is in accord with the will and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the people of that peace-loving, non-aligned country, whose Government, together with the Governments of other countries of Indo-China, has submitted a constructive, flexible and realistic set of proposals designed to secure a genuine solution of the problems of the region and to strengthen regional peace and security. We fully support those proposals, because they would lead to negotiations and a peaceful and constructive dialogue between the countries of Indo-China and the members of ASEAN, which is precisely what has been advocated so often, correctly, from this very rostrum.

96. Czechoslovakia, taking into account the genuine and substantive needs of Kampuchea, endeavours to develop with it extensive co-operation and to provide it with the maximum effective assistance, thereby giving effect to the results of last year's visit to Kampuchea of the President of my country, Gustav Husak, and a visit to our country of the President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Mr. Heng Samrin. As a result of those visits, relations between our two countries were raised to a qualitatively new level, and a new impetus to the co-operation between our countries was given by this year's visit to Prague of the Deputy President of the Council of Ministers, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Mr. Hun Sen. We shall continue to follow this course unswervingly, thereby making our modest contribution to the quickest peaceful solution of this pressing problem.

97. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Our position on the so-called situation in Kampuchea, a question which has been foisted upon the United Nations, and our fundamental disagreement with its being on the Assembly's agenda, were expressed by the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in the General Committee. It is deplorable that the imperialist States and the hegemonist forces of China have managed to drag the United Nations into this futile discussion. As a result, a truly paradoxical situation has come about.

98. In a sovereign State, the People's Republic of Kampuchea, normal peaceful life is pursuing its regular course; the organs of authority, which enjoy the support of the people, are functioning. Yet within the United Nations various parties are trying to foist upon the United Nations a discussion of the situation in that country, while blocking the granting to its legitimate Government of the right to take part in the General Assembly's work and to state its views on developments in and around the country.

99. Any reasonable and unprejudiced person should see clearly that there is no "Kampuchean problem". The problem has been removed by the Kampuchean people themselves. The situation in the People's Republic of Kampuchea moved along its proper path when an end was put to the criminal, genocidal Pol Pot régime. Encroachments on the sovereignty and independence of the People's Republic of Kampuchea are doomed to failure.

100. However, in the light of those conclusions and assessments of the situation, and given the realities of the situation in South-East Asia, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR deems it necessary to state certain considerations on the question.

101. As a result of the stubborn struggle against American imperialism and Beijing-based hegemonism, the Kampuchean people has won its right to independence and self-determination. In the two and a half years since the establishment of genuine popular power, important and irreversible changes have taken place in the country. In a short time most of the enterprises which were destroyed by the Pol Pot régime have been restored and put back into operation, the monetary system has been rehabilitated and there have been considerable achievements in education, culture and public health. General elections have been held in the country for the National Assembly, the highest representative organ, and for local authorities. Progress has been made in the resurrection of the national economy and culture; the political and social structure of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has been consolidated in the legislation embodied in the Constitution, which was adopted by the first session of the People's Representative Assembly.

102. The basic law of the country and the fundamental principles of its foreign policy are set forth therein. The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, putting all this into practice, is pursuing a policy of peace and non-alignment in the international sphere. It advocates the establishment of good-neighbourly relations with all States, including the countries of South-East Asia, on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence, and is doing its utmost to turn the region into an area of peace and stability.

103. The Kampuchean people, which suffered the tragedy of genocide during the rule of Beijing's henchmen, is determined not to permit the return of the conditions of a dreadful past. This has upset those who have been deliberately and maliciously impeding stabilization of the situation in the People's Republic of Kampuchea and in the region as a whole. Those in United States imperialist circles, hand in hand with the Beijing hegemonists, have managed to stir up tension and provoke confrontation in relations between ASEAN and Indo-China. They have been actively supplying the remnants of the Pol Pot bands and reactionary Khmer forces with weapons. The efforts of the opponents of the People's Republic of Kampuchea—namely the Beijing authorities—are designed to create a constant source of tension in that part of the world. They are anxious to ensure that an atmosphere of hostility, hatred and distrust prevails among the peoples of South-East Asia, for only in such conditions can their hegemonistic plans be achieved, not in an atmosphere of peace and friendship.

104. The aims of Washington also are to regain lost positions in South-East Asia, to reinstate there its military presence, direct and indirect, and to intimidate the countries of the region by waving in front of them the so-called Vietnamese threat, to justify the recent crimes of the American warmongers in Indo-China, and to discredit the heroic struggle of their peoples against the interventionists. That accounts for the hue and cry about this fabricated "Kampuchean question".

105. In the recent past China, the United States and those in reactionary circles in certain ASEAN countries have been trying to keep this matter very much in the forefront of attention by making it look as if there were genuine opposition to the people's authority in Kampuchea. It is hoped to tack together some kind of counter-revolutionary united front, using the cadavers of latter-day imitators of Pol Pot and other politicians of the past, which are now being dragged out of the cupboard, as it

were. This is a waste of time, and those who are trying by sordid and devious means to legalize that motley rabble are engaged in an ignoble venture.

106. Another effort on the part of the United States and China to destabilize the situation in Indo-China was the holding in July of this year of the so-called International Conference on Kampuchea. The very fact of the convening of that Conference was highly irregular: it constituted a gross violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter, which does not allow interference in the internal affairs of sovereign independent States.

107. As was pointed out in the note sent a few months ago to the Secretary-General by the Permanent Representative of the Ukrainian SSR to the United Nations: "Apart from gross interference in the internal affairs of the Kampuchean people, the holding of this Conference would create additional obstacles to normalization of the situation in South-East Asia. It would be detrimental to the recently started dialogue between the countries of Indo-China and ASEAN." How correct our conclusion has since proved.

108. Some of the participants in the Conference have even gone so far as to appeal from the rostrum of the United Nations for the restoration of the Pol Pot régime, whose ringleaders apparently are supposed now to "have recognized their mistakes" and revised their "theoretical views". It is not hard to imagine the kind of catastrophe that such a restoration of their power would mean for the Kampuchean people.

109. The documents adopted at the Conference are tendentious and can only confuse world public opinion. Of course, no decisions on Kampuchea adopted against the will of the Kampuchean people and in the absence of its lawful representatives can have, or will have, any force.

110. The Ukrainian SSR categorically refutes the decisions of that so-called International Conference on Kampuchea.

111. There already exists a sound, realistic basis for the settlement of the problems besetting the Indo-China area, as participants at this session very well know. It is set forth in the statement of the Foreign Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, on peace, stability, friendship and co-operation in South-East Asia, adopted in January this year in Ho Chi Minh City and confirmed in the statement of the Foreign Ministers adopted in June at Phnom Penh. Guided by the determination to achieve prompt and positive results for the sake of peace, stability, friendship and co-operation in South-East Asia, the three countries of Indo-China have proposed to the members of ASEAN that they come to the negotiating table of a regional conference, to resolve outstanding issues. It is proposed to invite to the conference by common agreement observers from other countries, as well as the Secretary-General of the United Nations. If for some reason the ASEAN countries are not yet ready for a regional conference, the three Indo-Chinese States are prepared to hold multilateral and bilateral consultations on a wide range of questions.

112. The proposals of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea relating to the signing of bilateral non-aggression treaties with China are still valid. A practical step towards the establishment of lasting peace and stability in South-East

Asia would be recognition by the ASEAN countries of the seven principles set forth in the memorandum of the Lao Foreign Ministry of 29 September 1981, explained in detail at the 16th meeting, during the general debate at this session by the Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Foreign Minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Phoune Sipraseuth.

113. In the opinion of the Ukrainian SSR it is precisely through dialogue, negotiations and consultations among the countries of South-East Asia, without outside interference, that a solution can be found to the problems of common interest to them. The decisions of the General Assembly should be designed to provide assistance to the States of the region in those constructive efforts.

114. The draft resolution that has been submitted to the General Assembly does not take into account the real

state of affairs but simply impedes the search for a mutually acceptable basis for a genuine political settlement in South-East Asia, because it contains provisions that allow for gross interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR will vote against that draft resolution.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council: Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980*, document S/14071.

² See *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, New York (13-17 July 1981)* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

³ *Ibid.*, annex II.